

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-16 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 AID-20 COME-00 EB-11

FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-07 OPIC-12 CIEP-03 LAB-06 SIL-01

OMB-01 DRC-01 AEC-11 SCI-06 IO-14 /234 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3705

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: ELAB, ICFTU, UK, EEC

SUBJECT: TUC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: FOREIGN AFFAIRS--EXCEPT FOR THE HIGHLY CHARGED EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ISSUE--PLAYED A SECONDARY ROLE DURING THIS RUC CONGRESS AT BRIGHTON. APART FOR THE EC ISSUE, AND THE STORMY REACTION TO A BLUNT INTERNATIONAL SPEECH BY ONE OF THE TWO AFL-CIO FRATERNAL DELEGATES, THE GENERAL TONE OF THE DEBATE WAS RESTRAINED AND MUTED. THUS, AS IN ALMOST ALL THINGS AT THE CONGRESS, THE TUC LEADERSHIP WAS ANXIOUS TO DAMPEN DOWN CONTROVERSY AND SING A SONG OF UNITY FOR THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN. END SUMMARY.

2. JACK JONES, WHO IS ALSO CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE, HELPED SET THE SOFTER TONE, IN HIS INTRODUCTION TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (WHICH IS BEING POUCHED, TOGETHER WITH A COPY OF JONES' SPEECH AND OTHER CONGRESS DOCUMENTS). JONES CONTRASTED THE ATTITUDE OF THE LABOR GOVERNMENT WITH THE CONSERVATIVES, NOTING THAT THE FORMER HAD WELCOMED THE "FALL OF DICTATORSHIP IN PORTUGAL AND IN GREECE," THAT THE LABOR GOVERNMENT "IS TAKING ANOTHER LOOK AT MEMBERSHIP IN THE COMMON MARKET," AND THAT THE TUC HAD ESTABLISHED A "NEW LEVEL OF CONSULTATION WITH THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH" OFFICE. (WITH REGARD TO TUC DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON THE EC, JONES SAID THAT THE TUC HAD STRONGLY URGED A DEFINITE TIME LIMIT FOR RENEGOTIATION AND THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN PROJECTION OF A TWELVE MONTHS' PERIOD-FROM JUNE- "NEEDED TO BE FIRMED UP." JONES ADDED: "WE CANNOT GO ON FOREVER, OR WITHOUT A TIME LIMIT, TALKING ABOUT THIS QUESTION."

3. JONES SPOKE IN DETAIL OF THE TUC'S EFFORTS TO HELP
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BLACK WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA, BUT WAS APPARENTLY DEFENSIVE ABOUT CRITICISMS FROM THE TUC'S LEFT WING THAT THE TUC, IN RECOGNIZING AND SUPPORTING SEPARATE BLACK UNIONS WAS CONTRIBUTING TO "APARTHEID." HE LOUDLY AFFIRMED "WE WILL HAVE NO TRUCK WITH APARTHEID." JONES SAID THAT THE TUC COULD HELP THE BLACK WORKERS BY OPPOSITION TO INVESTMENT WHERE EMPLOYERS REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS OF AFRICAN WORKERS, BY OPPOSING

EMIGRATION OF SKILLED WORKERS TO SOUTH AFRICA, FOR WORK WHICH AFRICANS CAN DO OR BE TRAINED TO DO, AND WOULD HELP AFRICAN WORKERS TO DEVELOP TRADE UNIONS "INCLUDING SUBSTANTIAL FUNDS" FOR THIS PURPOSE. THERE IS A "FERMENT IN INDUSTRY," HE SAID, WHICH EMPLOYERS WERE BEGINNING TO ACKNOWLEDGE.

4. JONES ALSO CALLED ATTENTION TO THE "FOUNDATION WE HAVE LAID FOR IMMENSE PROGRESS IN TRADE UNION UNITY IN WESTERN EUROPE" WHEN "ONLY TWO YEARS AGO THE TRADE UNIONS WERE DEEPLY DIVIDED" IN MANY ORGANIZATIONS "ALL GOING THEIR OWN WAY." HE SAID: "WE HAVE CREATED THE EUROPEAN TUC (ETUC), AND BROUGHT INTO IT NOT ONLY THE CHRISTIANS BUT ALSO "THE LARGEST ITALIAN ORGANIZATION, THE CGIL, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS AN "ASSOCIATE OF THE WFTU." (NOTE: ETUC GENERAL SECRETARY RASSCHARET TOLD US THAT THE FRENCH COMMUNIST CGT HAS ASKED FOR A MEETING WITH THE ETUC LEADERSHIP TO DISCUSS THAT ORGANIZATION'S AFFILIATION). THE TUC LEADER DESCRIBED THE ETUC AS AN "OPEN ORGANIZATION" LIMITED ONLY BY "ITS OWN FREE AND DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION AND BY GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS."

5. JONES ALSO NOTED "FURTHER PROGRESS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS IN EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE. HE PRAISED THE CAUTIOUS, NON-CONTROVERSIAL EAST-WEST EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE IN GENEVA LAST JANUARY WHICH CHOSE THE INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT FOR ITS FIRST MAJOR DISCUSSION, AND HE SAID THAT EAST-WEST NATIONAL CENTERS WERE PLANNING TO MEET AT THE END OF FEBRUARY 1975 FOR FURTHER WORK. BUT THIS, HE INDICATED, WAS ONLY THE BEGINNING OF EAST-WEST TRADE UNION DETENTE: "WE CAN HOPE..TO PROGRESS TO OTHER QUESTIONS AND TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OTHER EXCHANGES, WHICH WILL HELP TO ADVANCE THE PURPOSE (AGREED AT LAST YEAR'S TUC CONGRESS) OF WORLD TRADE UNION UNITY."

6. HOWEVER, JONES ADDED THAT NOT ALL WAS WELL IN THE WORLD, CITING SPAIN "WHERE OUR BROTHERS CONTINUE TO BE OPPRESSED BY A REGIME WHICH SURELY CANNOT OUTLIVE ITS DICTATOR FRANCO;" IN CHILE WHERE "WE HAVE SEEN A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE MURDEROUSLY BROUGHT DOWN" (THE TUC, HE SAID, WOULD GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO A 48-HOUR BOYCOTT OF

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CHILE, CALLED BY THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTWORKERS FEDERATION FOR SEPTEMBER 18TH AND 19TH); IN CYPRUS "WHERE WE HAVE SEEN OUTSIDE FORCES INTERVENE BY STEALTH AND NOW BY FORCE;" AND IN NORTHERN IRELAND, "WHERE OUR POLICY HAS BEEN TO WORK WITH AND SUPPORT THE NORTHERN IRELAND COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS IN THEIR COURAGEOUS EFFORTS FOR A PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION"HE EMPHASIZED STRONGLY: "WE WILL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH OUR COLLEAGUES OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND COMMITTEE." IN CLOSING, JONES REMINDED THE CONGRESS THAT "TWO OF THE THREE FACIST REGIMES IN EUROPE HAVE FALLEN IN 1974" AND THAT THE TUC WOULD ENSURE THAT IT WOULD HELP ITS FRIENDS IN GREECE AND PORTUGAL "TO BUILD A STRONG AND INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN BOTH COUNTRIES."

7. IT IS SOMEWHAT SURPRISING THAT JONES' INVENTORY OF TUC INTERNATIONAL POLICIES CONTAINED NOT A SINGLE WORD OF REFERENCE TO THE UNITED STATES, OR TO THE AFL-CIO, FOR THAT MATTER, OR TO THE MIDDLE EAST (ALTHOUGH THE GENERAL COUNCIL'S REPORT, WHICH WAS LATER OVERWHELMINGLY APPROVED BY THE DELEGATES, DOES CONTAIN SOME REFERENCE TO THESE AREAS.) THERE WERE A FEW ANTI-AMERICAN REFERENCES BY SOME SPEAKERS AND DELEGATES, PARTICULARLY WHEN A RESOLUTION TO REMOVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM BRITISH SOIL WAS MOVED AND ESPECIALLY DURING A SPEECH BY THE AFL-CIO FRATERNAL DELEGATE MAX GREENBERG (PRESIDENT OF THE RETAIL, WHOLESALE AND DEPARTMENT STORE UNION). THE OTHER AFL-CIO FRATERNAL DELEGATE, JAMES HOUSEWRIGHT, PRESIDENT OF THE RETAIL CLERKS, GAVE A SPEECH WHICH WAS MUCH MORE CORDIALLY RECEIVED, PRIMARILY BECAUSE IT DEALT WITH DOMESTIC U.S. ISSUES ON WHICH THERE IS PRACTICALLY LITTLE DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO GREAT TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS.

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8. GREENBERG'S SPEECH FEATURED STRONG ATTACKS ON THE SOVIET UNION, ON EAST-WEST TRADE UNION RELATIONS, AND ON THE ADMITTANCE OF THE COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED CGIL TO THE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CONFEDERATION. HE ALSO GAVE STRONG SUPPORT TO ISRAEL AND TO ITS TRADE UNION CENTER HISTADRUT. THE SPEECH, WHICH IN MANY, IF NOT MOST, OF

ITS TERMS CONTRASTED SHARPLY WITH TUC POSITIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR JONES' KEYNOTE SPEECH, INFURIATED A NUMBER OF TUC DELEGATES, WHO RAINED DOWN UPON HIM SEVERAL EPITHETS AND SHOUTS INCLUDING "TELL THAT TO THE CIA" AND "WHAT ABOUT VIETNAM." DESPITE THE BOOS AND HECKLING FROM SOME AREAS OF THE FLOOR AND IN THE PUBLIC GALERIES --MOST OF THE TUC DELEGATES LISTENED POLITELY. GREENBERG, WHO HAD SUFFERED A MINOR BUT VERY PAINFUL ACCIDENT EARLIER, WENT GAMEDLY AND BRAVELY ON AND WAS APPLAUDED WHEN HE FINISHED HIS ADDRESS.

9. THE CONGRESS, IN ADDITION TO ENDORSING THE COUNCIL REPORT, ALSO APPROVED A NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS. APART FROM THOSE RELATING TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, REPORTED PREVIOUSLY (LONDON 11509), SEVERAL RESOLUTIONS SIMPLY REITERATED POLICIES OF PREVIOUS YEARS. ONE, FOR EXAMPLE, CALLED "ON THE COUNCIL TO CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AND SUPPORT COOPERATION WITH ALL EUROPEAN TRADE AND WORLD TRADE UNIONS AS A MATTER OF PRIORITY." ANOTHER RESOLUTION CALLED "FOR A COMPLETE BRITISH DISSOCIATION FROM ALL FORMS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND TESTING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND FOR THE CLOSING OF NUCLEAR BASES, BOTH BRITISH AND AMERICAN, LOCATED IN BRITIAN OR BRITISH WATERS (THIS TOO REITERATED BRITISH TUC POLICY). STILL ANOTHER RESOLUTION, CALLING FOR "ACTIVE AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT" OF THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL, WHICH WAS DESCRIBED AS A COORDINATING BODY DEALING WITH PEACE ISSUES, WAS SENT BACK TO THE COUNCIL. (A TUC OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT THE TUC LEADERSHIP WAS VERY RELUCTANT TO SUPPORT AN ORGANIZATION SUCH AS THE NPC BECAUSE IT WAS A "GRAB-BAG OF SO MANY DIFFERENT ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING A NUMBER OF FAR-LEFT BODIES.")

10. A RESOLUTION WAS PASSED CALLING FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH VIETNAM, RECOGNITION BY THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF THE "PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF SVC;" AND THE REMOVAL OF U.S. OBSTACLES TO THE PRG MEMBERSHIP OF THE UN" AS WELL AS TUC "MORAL AND MATERIAL ASSISTANCE IN PROMOTING THE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND RECONSTRUCTION IN VIETNAM. THE RESOLUTION WAS SPONSORED BY COMMUNIST-LED AUEW'S WHITE-COLLAR WING, TASS. HOWEVER, JACK JONES ENTERTAINED CERTAIN RESERVATIONS. HE SAID THE PRG DID NOT REPRESENT SVN IN ITS ENTIRETY, THAT THE SVN HAD CONTROL OVER A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE TERRITORY AND THAT THE TUC GENERAL COUNCIL WOULD INTERPRET THE RESOLUTION IN THIS LIGHT.

11. A RESOLUTION CALLED ON THE COUNCIL TO "INVESTIGATE

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND THE STATE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN HONG KONG; ANOTHER EXPRESSED THE DEEP CONCERN OF CONGRESS OVER THE "SUPPRESSION OF POLITICAL LIBERTIES AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS" IN BRAZIL; AND AN EMERGENCY RESOLUTION ON CYPRUS CALLED ON ALL COUNTRIES "TO RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE" OF CYPRUS, THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL GREEK AND TURKISH TROOPS INCLUDING GREEK OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL GUARD, AND THE REINSTATEMENT OF PRESIDENT MAKARIOS."

12. COMMENT: IT IS CLEAR THAT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS-- OTHER THAN THE EC ISSUES--WAS THE SUBJECT OF FAR LESS DEBATE AND DISCUSSION THAN IN RECENT YEARS. IN PART, THIS WAS DUE TO THE OBVIOUS DECISION OF THE LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING JACK JONES, TO KEEP THE TUC'S HEAD DOWN AND

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TO MUTE CONTROVERSY. THERE WERE MANY FEWER TRADE UNION DELEGATES FROM ABROAD THAN WERE PRESENT LAST YEAR, AND A GOOD PART OF THE DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TOOK PLACE ON THE VERY LAST DAY, WHEN THERE WAS STRONG PRESSURE TO COMPLETE MUCH UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE CONGRESS. HOWEVER, THE VERY SHARP REACTION TO THE AFL-CIO POSITION ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS ENUNCIATED BY GREENBERG-EVEN THOUGH IT WAS MOST STRIDENTLY REFLECTED IN THE HECKLING OF EXTREMISTS AND WAS BY NO MEANS UNANIMOUS, THE RARE REFERENCE TO THE U.S., EXCEPT IN RITUAL OPPOSITION (NUCLEAR WEAPONS, VIETNAM) WOULD INDICATE THAT THE TUC WILLY-NILLY IS MOVING INCREASINGLY CLOSER TO THE CONTINENT DESPITE ITS VERY CLEAR EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ANTIPATHY. THIS WIDENING OF THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE TUC AND THE AFL-CIO, APPEARS INCONGRUOUS, AT A TIME WHEN GOVERNMENT LEADERS (SUCH AS CALLIGHAN) ARE WARNING THAT PROBLEMS TO RESOLVE INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT MUST BE UNDERTAKEN THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE ACTION.

13. MOREOVER, THIS DISTANCING OF THE TWO GREAT TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS COMES ALSO AT A TIME WHEN LEFT-WING INFLUENCE IN THE TUC LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN ENHANCED, INCLUDING THE ELECTION TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF ITS FIRST COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER IN MANY YEARS (KEN GILL). AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, IT IS REFRESHING TO NOTE THAT JACK JONES-WHO IS WITHOUT DOUBT "MR. BIG" OF THE

TUC, IS INCREASINGLY DEMONSTRATING WHAT SOME OBSERVERS
HERE REFER TO AS "LABOR STATESMANSHIP".

14. IN HIS PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH US, IT SHOULD BE
SAID, JONES HAS EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR REVIVING CLOSER
TUC/AFL-CIO TIES. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW IS SOME WAY TO
ENCOURAGE THE "NEW JONES," TO BRIDGE THE TRANS-ATLANTIC
TRADE UNION GAP, AND IN THE PROCESS TO PREVENT DIFFER-
ENCES ON THIS LEVEL FROM SPILLING OVER INTO BROADER U.S.
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-U.K. RELATIONS.

15. THE CONGRESS ALSO PASSED A WATERED-DOWN RESOLUTION
ON THE ROLE OF WORKERS ON COMPANY BOARDS OF DIRECTORS,
WHICH WILL BE DESCRIBED IN THE FINAL CONGRESS WRAP-UP,
TO BE REPORTED SEPTEL. IN THE FIRST POST-CONGRESS
MEETING OF THE TUC GENERAL COUNCIL, THE TUC ELECTED
MARY PATTERSON TO THE LARGELY HONORIFIC OFFICE OF
PRESIDENT. LEN MURRAY, WHO "WON HIS SPURS" AT THIS
CONGRESS--HIS ROLE WILL BE DISCUSSED IN SEPTEL--
WAS OF COURSE RE-ELECTED AS GENERAL SECRETARY.
SOHM

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